

The Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland :: ::

*Proceedings of the Meetings held in Nineteen
Hundred and Twenty at Easton and Baltimore*

NUMBER 18

1920

PRICE, ONE DOLLAR

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Contents

EASTON MEETING.....	6-27
Territorial Problems of the Peace Conference by Dr. Douglass Wilson Johnson.....	6-17
Reorganization of History Teaching in the Schools by Dr. Charles A. Coulomb.....	18-27
BALTIMORE MEETING.....	28-50
The Preparation of the Teachers of History and Social Sciences in the Secondary Schools, by Dr. George F. Zook.....	37
Discussion, by Dr. Margaret R. Kollock.....	38
Democracy in the New German Constitution, by Dr. Hugo C. M. Wendel.....	48
Political Problems of Present-Day Hispanic America by Dr. Mary Wilhelmine Williams.....	50
Business and Reports.....	51-55
List of Members.....	56-64

Easton Meeting, May 7-8, 1921

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1920, 6.30 P.M.

Dinner tendered to members of the Association by Lafayette College.

FRIDAY, 8 P.M.

Address of Welcome:

Dean Albert K. Heckel, on behalf of Lafayette College and The Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society.

Response:

Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, President of the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland.

Lecture (Illustrated with lantern slides):

"Territorial Problems of the Peace Conference," by Douglas Wilson Johnson, Ph.D., Professor of Physiography, Columbia University. At the Paris Peace Conference, Professor Johnson was Chief of Division of Boundary Geography of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Abstract of the address by PROFESSOR DOUGLAS JOHNSON

The territorial problems of the Peace Conference may roughly be divided into two groups—those which primarily affected the vital interests of one or more of the five principal allied and associated powers, and those which primarily concerned the smaller allied powers and the new states created by the Conference. Problems of the first type were usually subject to special ne-

gotiations and were discussed in the Supreme Council without reference to a territorial commission; whereas problems of the second type were first discussed at much length in the commissions specially created by the Conference for the purpose, and only after tentative boundaries had been drawn by these territorial commissions were the questions brought up in the Supreme Council for final decision.

In the solution of both types of problems the historical, geographic, economic and other specialists played an important role. Throughout the preliminary negotiations between the powers, the territorial specialists, on the basis of their studies, advised the Chiefs of Government on the different aspects of each question, and in a number of cases actually handled the preliminary negotiations. When each problem came up for final debate in the Supreme Council, or in the Council of Four (Chiefs of Government) the specialists concerned with that particular problem were called into consultation, and in the Supreme Council were usually present to advise the Government Chiefs during the debate. Tentative settlements were submitted to the specialists for analysis and criticism before final approval, so that in a variety of ways the specialists rendered important services to their respective governments.

The geographers, historians, economists and other specialists played an even more important part in settling those problems in which the vital interests of the Great Powers were not so directly involved, but in which settlement might be hoped for on the basis of an impartial study of the geographic, ethnographic, historical and economic factors involved. Special territorial commissions were constituted to consider the territorial claims of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Greece, Poland, etc., and a Central Territorial Commission was later created to co-ordinate the findings of the commissions first named. Each territorial commission consisted of two representatives from each of the Great Powers. For the European powers the representatives on these commissions were apt to be men trained in the respective foreign offices, while the American representatives were for the most part college professors selected from the group of specialists attached to the American Peace Commission.

The procedure of a territorial commission was usually first to hear the representatives of the interested countries present

their respective claims. Thus in the case of the disputed territory of the Banat, the Rumanian representatives, who demanded all of this region, were heard in defense of their claim, and equal opportunity was afforded the Yugoslav representatives to substantiate their contention that a large proportion of the area should be assigned to Yugoslavia. The representatives of each country would then present their views, supplemented, if necessary, by the expert opinions of other specialists brought into conference for the purpose. The ensuing debates sometimes extended over weeks, and even then unanimity of opinion was not always reached. To expedite the work particular problems would in some cases be assigned to sub-commissions which would report the results of their deliberations to the main commission. In the end a report accompanied by a detailed map was prepared by each commission, setting forth its conclusions and recommendations and the principal arguments upon which they were based. If differences of opinion persisted, the grounds for such differences were briefly stated and alternative frontiers indicated on the maps.

The territorial problem was then ready for submission to the Supreme Council; or, as frequently happened in the later months of the Conference, first to the Council of Foreign Ministers (the "Big Five") for their consideration, and finally to the Chiefs of Government (the "Big Four") for final decision. Unanimous conclusions of the territorial commissions were usually accepted without much debate. Where a divided report was submitted the majority opinion usually prevailed, although certain concessions to the country holding the minority view were from time to time deemed advisable. If the debate in the Supreme Council or other higher bodies made further study of the problem from some new point of view desirable, the question was returned to the appropriate territorial commission for further consideration. It is an interesting commentary on the work of the territorial commissions, and on the extent to which the new European frontiers were determined on the basis of expert technical advice, that the frontiers finally decided upon were for the most part those agreed upon in commission.

It is not possible, nor would it be appropriate, to review at this time the various arguments submitted by different countries in support of their territorial claims; but it may serve to give you an idea of the kinds of problems with which the territorial

specialists were concerned, both in their capacity as advisers to their country's representatives and as representatives themselves on the territorial commissions, if I state very briefly some of the problems which had to receive most careful consideration.

As one example, we may take the Banat, which gave the specialists no end of trouble. The populations in much of this region are badly mixed, and no satisfactory frontier could be delimited on ethnographic grounds alone. In favor of her claim to the whole province Rumania could urge that it was a single geographic unit, bounded on the north, west and south by important waterways, and served by canals and railways which should not be cut by any international frontier. Yugoslavia could urge that the plain of the Banat drained economically towards the Serbian frontier, that considerations of ethnography forbade the inclusion of a large number of their race in Rumania, and that the defense of Belgrade necessitated a foreland of Yugoslav territory on the northern side of the Danube. And this is but to mention a few of the many arguments considered by the commission in the long weeks of its work.

In the southern portion of the Austrian Alps there is a very pronounced basin, or lowland, surrounded on all sides by high mountains. This Klagenfurt Basin presented a problem of peculiar difficulty because its southern half was populated by Yugoslavs, its northern half by Germans. A boundary based on ethnographic lines would divide into two halves a basin which was economically a unit; and the Yugoslav portion would remain separated by a high mountain barrier from the rest of Yugoslavia. Thus the economic and geographic division conflicted sharply with any division based on the principle of nationality. Perhaps the best possible solution of this problem was reached when the Council of Four accepted a proposal to divide the basin into a northern or German half, and a southern or Yugoslav half; and to offer to the southern half the right of self-determination by plebiscite as to whether it would unite with Yugoslavia or with Austria. If the people decide for themselves that economic considerations are paramount and vote for union with Austria despite their racial ties, the problem will be definitely settled. Should racial ties prove the stronger and the plebiscite result in favor of union with Yugoslavia, the German half of the basin is then to have the right to decide by plebiscite whether under these circumstances it will maintain the unity

of the basin by joining Jugoslavia, or whether it will prefer economic inconvenience to political separation from the Austrian state. In other words, the people themselves are to determine whether economic or racial ties shall be supreme.

The Thracian question presented in a special form the old problem as to whether the people which inhabit the coastal fringe of a country, or the people which inhabit the interior shall be most considered in territorial adjustments. Greeks are fairly numerous along the whole Aegean coast, and before the Balkan wars not only outnumbered the Bulgarians in Eastern Thrace, but also to a slight extent in Western Thrace, which was with the assent of Greece assigned to Bulgaria. It would be difficult to assign Eastern Thrace to Greece without giving her Western Thrace as a connecting link, although the possibility of an isolated tract of Greek territory in Eastern Thrace might receive consideration in a country made up so largely of islands and peninsulas, and where communication is in so great a degree by means of the sea. Greece could urge her claim to special consideration as an ally of the democratic powers, especially after the influence of the treacherous Constantine had been overbalanced by that of the brilliant and far-seeing statesman, Venizelos; while Bulgaria as an enemy who had cynically betrayed the cause of humanity for what she believed to be a good bargain could certainly make no appeal to allied tenderness. Greece also urged that the Turkish population in Western Thrace was more friendly to Greek than to Bulgar rule, although there was evidence to controvert the validity of this claim.

On the other hand it was necessary to consider the ultimate effect on the peace of the Balkans of the assignment to Greece of the whole Aegean coast, including that portion of Western Thrace which Greece herself a few years before had agreed could most wisely be assigned to Bulgaria. It was obviously a serious matter to let the punishment of Bulgaria take the form of depriving her of free and direct access to the sea, and restricting her to the round-about outlet by way of the Black Sea, Bosphorus and Dardanelles. It could also be argued that punishment of an enemy by seizure of territory is not wise if the people inhabiting that territory are opposed to such seizure. Bulgaria's legal claim to Western Thrace at the beginning of the war could not be doubted, since she had acquired it not through conquest,

but with the assent of Greece when Greece was the conqueror and Bulgaria the conquered. Following the transfer of Western Thrace to Bulgaria the small Greek majority (relative to the Bulgars) necessarily vanished, and the Bulgarian population greatly increased from natural causes; and this wholly independently of the much-disputed question as to whether the decrease in Greeks was or was not the result of Bulgarian massacres or threats of massacre. Thus it could be urged that at the opening of the war Bulgaria had a better ethnographic title to Western Thrace than had Greece. The balancing of the economic, legal and ethnographic claims of an enemy against the special claims of a friendly power necessarily created a problem of very great difficulty.

The Tyrol problem involved questions of an ethnographic, geographic and strategic character. Italy could claim the southern part of the Trentino on ethnographic grounds, but the northern part was almost entirely German. In few places in the world can one find a more clean-cut ethnographic boundary than between the Italian and German parts of this area. Italy also urged that the geographic unity of the Adige Basin must not be severed by an international boundary, and certainly where a geographic unit is an economic unit, this argument must have great weight. The geographer finds, however, that the drainage basin of the Adige, like many other drainage basins, especially in glaciated regions, is not a geographic unit. The northern boundary of the geographic unit which Italy could properly claim would lie on the high Jaufen Pass rather than on the much lower Brenner, and at the narrow Klausen Gorge rather than at the inconspicuous divide scarcely visible in the bottom of the broad, open Pusterthal Valley. On strategic grounds it must be admitted that the linguistic line would not afford adequate protection for Northern Italy against hostile invasion from the north. The natural geographic frontier, lying north of the linguistic boundary, but in part south of the Brenner line, would be exceedingly difficult for an invader to pass. Of course, the line of the watershed still farther north has additional strategic advantages, as it would hold a potential enemy at bay still farther away from purely Italian territory. The Tyrol problem is evidently one in which strategic advantages had to be weighed against considerations of nationality and sentiment, based on long historic associations.

No problem of the conference was more conspicuous or presented greater difficulties than that of Italy's eastern frontier. The Adriatic problem is in part a naval problem and in part a question of land frontiers. The mountainous, ragged eastern coast of the Adriatic, with its numerous harbors, is in strong contrast with the low and simple western coast, where harbors are few in number and inferior in quality. A naval power on the eastern coast would find itself possessing immense advantages over Italy. A fleet taking refuge in one of the Italian harbors is visible from far out to sea because of the flatness of the coast, whereas vessels secreted along the eastern shore are invisible behind mountain barriers. From the low western coast, observation of an approaching squadron is limited as compared with the better observation enjoyed by those on the dominating heights of the eastern coast. Coast defense artillery has little choice of inferior positions on the western coast, and unlimited choice of excellent positions on the eastern coast. A fleet emerging from one of the western harbors to give battle may be taken unawares before it can develop its battle formation; while a fleet manoeuvring behind the protective fringe of islands on the east coast may emerge from a number of passages simultaneously and assume a pre-determined formation without delay. The Italian submarines, scouting along the eastern shores, find the bottom rough and deep, so that lying in wait for an enemy is a dangerous procedure; while the Austrian submarine finds shallow water and a smooth bottom upon which to lie concealed, pending the passage of an intended victim. The clear waters along the eastern coast reveal hidden mines or submarines to the scouting hydroplanes, while the murkier waters along the Italian coast make it difficult for Italian observers to locate enemy submarines or mines sown by enemy craft along their shores. Even in the matter of illumination the Italians are at a great disadvantage. Raids are usually made by crossing the sea under the cover of darkness and appearing off the enemy coast in the early morning. When the Austrian raiders thus appear off the Italian coast, their objective is well illuminated by the rising sun, whereas the Italian artilleryman must look into the sun when firing upon their attackers. And when an Italian squadron appears off the eastern coast, it finds its objective obscured by the shadow of high cliffs and must look towards the sun when developing its fire, the while

its own vessels are so well illuminated as to form an excellent target for the east coast batteries.

On such arguments as these Italy might claim the need of special consideration in the Adriatic. Without taking the time to develop the counter arguments, I will merely note that in the proposals which have been made for the settlement of the Adriatic question, complete security has been offered to Italy by granting her Pola, Valona and a central island group, three points which have long been recognized as the strategic keys of the Adriatic Sea.

It is not possible at this time to treat all phases of the complicated Adriatic problem, but in closing this portion of my address I will ask your attention to certain aspects of the Fiume question. The peculiar strategic value of this port from both the economic and military points of view is at once apparent. A glance at the map will show that the Dinaric Alps, a broad belt of wild and rugged mountainous country, intervene between the interior of the Balkan peninsula and the Adriatic Sea. South of Fiume this range is crossed by but two or three narrow-gauge railroads, wholly inadequate to serve the commercial needs of the interior. It is no mere coincidence that the only standard gauge road crosses the mountain barrier at its narrowest point, opposite Fiume. Furthermore, the geographic conditions are such as permanently to preclude cheap and efficient rail service from the interior to the coast across the broad portion of the barrier, so that Fiume, advantageously situated opposite its narrowest part, and at the head of a sea that makes water transportation both cheap and easy, is the inevitable economic outlet for the northern part of the Balkan peninsula. It should also be borne in mind that practically the whole standard-gauge railroad system of Yugoslavia is in the latitude of Fiume. This is due to four chief reasons: the broad, fertile river plains of the country are almost entirely confined to that region; nearly two-thirds of the population lives in these plains and valleys; railroad construction there is easy and comparatively inexpensive, and there is sufficient traffic to maintain the roads and keep rates down. Thus it will be seen that the life of the Yugoslav nation is to an unusual degree concentrated in the north of the country, and as the railroad system upon which this economic life depends has its only direct outlet to the sea at Fiume, it may well be said that the power that holds Fiume holds the life of an entire nation in its hands.

The problem had to be considered from still other points of view. Not only do Austria and Hungary, and to a considerable degree Czechoslovakia and the newly enlarged Rumania look to Fiume as an important economic outlet, but all the outside world desiring to trade with central and southeastern Europe via the Mediterranean route has a very real interest in the settlement of this question. According to the settlement offered Italy, Trieste would go to Italy and Fiume to Yugoslavia. The Italian port could then supply the hinterland by a line of rail which would not have to cross Yugoslav territory; while Fiume could supply the same hinterland by a line not touching Italian possessions. This would insure freedom of commerce to all, both ports and routes being secure from possible interference by a jealous neighbor. All the world would profit from an arrangement which encouraged each country to offer the best port facilities, the most convenient rail connections and the lowest rates compatible with its own proper interests, in order to attract trade.

As to Italy's economic interest in Fiume, little in support of her claim could be advanced. Even if one granted her demand that more than half a million Yugoslavs be placed under her dominion in order to extend her frontier so as to include the few thousand Italians in Fiume, the port would remain at the most remote corner of her territory. It was argued that Italian commerce would not pass by the much more convenient Trieste in order to reach a more distant and less serviceable port. Italy's economic interest in Fiume should therefore be regarded as slight.

As regards Fiume itself, it was pointed out that its artificial harbor was constructed by the Hungarian government at great expense. Before the war it was found to be inadequate, and plans were matured for its enlargement and improvement. These will entail very large future expenditures of government capital. It was seriously questioned whether Italy would ever be prepared to expend huge sums for the development of an artificial peripheral port to compete with the more accessible port of Trieste. In support of this view it was noted that Italy considered it essential that her eastern frontier should be pushed 12 or 15 miles east of Trieste for the protection of its port works. At Fiume the frontier proposed by Italy would, in fact, pass through one of the basins of the port itself, so that a hostile

advance of but a few thousand yards would deliver all the port works into enemy hands. If Italy could not afford to develop a port at Trieste without territorial protection, how could she afford to develop a rival port at Fiume having no protection? And the one big, vital interest of Fiume's inhabitants, Italian as well as Yugoslav, is to have their city prosper as a great world port.

There was, as you can see, strong support for the conclusion that the interests of Yugoslavia, of Central Europe, of the outside world and of the people of Fiume itself required that this port should neither be placed under Italian control, nor made the subject of any territorial device which would weaken confidence in the future security of the port by raising a suspicion that it was calculated to facilitate the future annexation of the port by Italy.

The Shantung problem presented itself to the Conference in a peculiar aspect. England, France and Italy were obligated to support the claims of Japan, so that the Americans found themselves one against four as they stood before the Conference. It was possible, by accepting the settlement actually arrived at, to get from Japan a promise which effectually reversed the whole situation in respect to the position in which these same parties must stand in the future before the League of Nations or any similar international tribunal. Japan's promise of withdrawal, made to America and the other allied powers, means that in any future consideration of this problem not only England, France and Italy stand with America pledged to a settlement involving the withdrawal of Japan, but that Japan herself also stands committed to such a settlement.

The important object was to save Shantung for China, and the vital question was: Which is the wiser procedure, to take a high stand which will send Japan home to hold Shantung permanently, with no possibility that American or other Allied troops will ever be sent to contest her possession of the coveted territory. Or to accept a settlement which, however unsatisfactory in form, carries with it a promise that Shantung will be saved for China? The claim that Mr. Wilson was inconsistent in dealing with the Adriatic problem in one way and the Shantung problem in another, overlooks the all important fact that the two problems were no more alike than is black like white. The settlement with Japan involved a promise to get out of

the territories in dispute. The settlement upon which Italy insisted not only contained no such promise, but was believed to threaten the future security of additional Yugoslav territory.

It may appear from what I have said that historical arguments played a small part in the settlement of territorial questions. In general this is true. Some delegations supported their territorial claims by historical arguments based on an ownership which lapsed many centuries ago. But such arguments, even when dating back scarcely more than a century, did not carry great weight. Present geographic, ethnographic, economic, strategic and other actual conditions were deemed of greater value as guides to a just and lasting settlement. In certain instances, it is true, the historical argument added weight to considerations of a different nature. Thus the historic frontier of Bohemia was retained for much of the boundary of Czechoslovakia in part because wide departures from it would create serious geographic, economic and political difficulties; whereas the arguments for slight rectifications were held to be outweighed by those in favor of maintaining a long-established and well-recognized frontier. It should be appreciated, however, that the historians on the staff of specialists were a prime factor in determining the present conditions upon which nearly all the boundary questions were decided. They outnumbered all other specialists on the staff and on the territorial commissions.

In conclusion, I beg you to remember that I have treated of but one small corner of the complex organization of the Peace Conference; and that I have treated that small part of the subject in a very incomplete and sketchy manner, merely stating arguments as they have occurred to me without any attempt to balance them fairly, or to pass judgment upon them. My object has been not to discuss the merits of the territorial problems, but merely to give you an idea of the kind of work which confronted the territorial specialists in their endeavors to aid in the solution of some of the difficult questions of the peace settlement.

If I may be permitted one or two brief generalizations in closing, I would say that, contrary to widely held opinion, the frontier problems of Europe were in very great measure decided on the basis of serious study and carefully considered recommendations made by unbiased technical experts. Whether good or bad, they certainly represent a more serious effort than has

ever before been made in the history of the world to settle questions of this nature on the basis of expert advice rather than on the basis of political bargaining. In the second place let me add that nothing could be more misleading than the prevalent opinion that the President neither sought nor used the advice of the experts who, under his orders, were attached to the Peace Conference. I was an active worker at the Conference from near its assembling the last of December, 1918, until the middle of the following September; and I have kept in close touch with some of its problems since my return. On the basis of this experience I can assure you that the President constantly received the opinions of his territorial experts; that he studied the reports from different sections until he had a grasp of the complicated territorial questions which was not only remarkable, but far superior to that possessed by any of his colleagues of the other powers; that he frequently sent for certain of his specialists to advise with them on pending questions; and that he promptly responded to requests of the specialists for appointments when they thought it important to lay certain phases of a problem personally before him.

This would not be an appropriate occasion for a partisan defense of the President's role at Paris; and if it were, I should not be the proper man to make it, for I never voted for Mr. Wilson, and have been strongly opposed to many of his policies. But waiving all questions of a political nature, and equally waiving all questions as to what mistakes the President has or has not made, it is only fair in any discussion of the territorial problems of the Conference to record the facts that the President understood their detailed and complex relations to an extraordinary degree, that he debated them in the Supreme Council and in the Council of the Chiefs of Government with remarkable skill and effectiveness; that he exercised a great and beneficial influence on the decisions of the Conference in territorial matters; and that throughout his handling of these questions he impressed those of us who were working on their technical phases with the conviction that he had a true vision of a new standard of morality in international diplomacy. and that he strove with sincerity and steadfastness to make the decisions of the Conference conform to that standard.

Easton Meeting

Second Session

SATURDAY, MAY 8, 10 A.M.

Topic:

"The Reorganization of History Teaching in the Schools."

*Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, President of Lincoln School of Teachers' College, New York City.

Dr. Charles A. Coulomb, District Superintendent of Schools, District One, Philadelphia.

General Discussion.

SATURDAY NOON

Luncheon tendered to members of the Association by The Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society.

THE NEW COURSE IN HISTORY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

Assistant District Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia

Some Criticisms and Suggestions concerning the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship of the American Historical Association in so far as it concerns the Elementary Grades

It is the intention in this paper to do three things. First, to make a short analysis of the preliminary report of the committee, pointing out where it seems open to criticism and giving some reasons for the criticisms; second, to discuss briefly what we believe to be the aims of history teaching, and the need of adapting our materials and methods to the realization of those aims; third, there is offered a course alternative to that suggested by the Committee of the Historical Association, with some reasons why we deem it preferable.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship offers three rounds or circuits of history, the first including Grades 1-6; the second, Grades 7, 8, and 9; the

* Dr. Knowlton's paper was not available for publication.

third, Grades 10, 11, and 12. The Course for Grades 1-6 deals with three topics—(a) the local community; (b) the making of the United States; (c) How we are governed. Topic (a) includes the work in Civics and History up to and including Grade Three. Topic (b) includes the Grades Four and Five, and the first half of Grade Six. Topic (c) covers the last half of Grade Six. In Grades 7, 8, and 9, the general theme is American History in its World Setting. The course presupposes the Junior High School. If the schools of a given locality are still on the old 8-4 plan, there is offered an alternative course in the progress of civilization from the earliest times to 1650. The time in the first six grades is to be two hours a week. In Grades 7, 8, and 9, the committee asks for two hours a week for history with some additional time for civics.

It may be said at once that there is practical agreement on the question of civics. The social and civic activities of the community are constantly presented to the child, in large measure, at least. There is not the same abstraction from the present nor the need to build up a reasonably accurate picture of the past that we find in history. While it may be admitted that it would be helpful for the child to know the historical background of the various functions of the community, one can teach civics without it. We have had some experience in the past few years in teaching civics in Philadelphia and we think we know what can be done. Meanwhile, though saying it with due modesty, our course in civics has been adopted in many places through the country, and it is practically the same as that which has been adopted by the Committee on Civics of the National Educational Association. So we believe that our Philadelphia course has some merits. Our experience indicates the desirability of separating civics from history. If this is not done, one or the other will be under-emphasized. Though we admit the close alliance of the two subjects, we feel that it would be a great mistake to merge them as the report of Dr. Shafer's committee suggests or implies. There is finally, the question of time. It is almost impossible to get over two hours per week as a total for both history and civics. If these two subjects are merged they will, we believe, be given less time in total number of minutes than they will receive if considered as two independent courses. In any event, it seems that even if it were desirable to have such a historical background as is

suggested, it would be practically impossible so to co-ordinate the history and civics that exactly the proper topics in history would come along when the corresponding topics in civics were being taught. Besides many topics in civics concerned with the social activities of the community, such as those relating to public welfare, are connected with health and hygiene or some other branch of study and not with history.

The proposed course in history, however, lends itself to criticism from three points of view:

In the first place, the content seems to be badly distributed. A corollary to this is the excessive amount of material in Grade Eight. A selection of the details may modify to some extent this criticism, but if only as much is left in as can be taught properly, there will be nothing but the dry bones of three hundred years of formal history for the Eighth Grade boy or girl.

A second criticism is that little thought seems to have been given to the pupils who are to be taught this great amount of history in so brief a time. We refer here particularly to the upper elementary grades. The committee seems to have been persuaded that because skilled and historically trained teachers can do this work in select schools with a select group of pupils, any old (or young) teacher can do it anywhere with any pupils. As a matter of fact, she can't, for two reasons. The first reason is the average or typical pupil. These often come from squalid homes where there are no books in English except the school books, and where there is no English spoken except by the school children, and it is pretty poor English at that. The work in any subject must be slow and careful. We must remember the European prejudices of many of these pupils, and recognize that there are many things they must be untaught before we can begin with the foundations of our inheritance of liberty.

In the belt of States extending across the country north of the line of the Ohio River, there were in 1910 only three states having less than 35% of the population of foreign birth or of foreign parentage. Eleven of these states had over 50% of their population foreign born or of foreign parentage. These percentages are undoubtedly largely increased by now. You can't just shove English history and English institutions down the throats of these people. They must be coaxed to take them like they would be coaxed to take medicine—not because they

like it but because it will do them good. We even now get unfavorable reactions from certain nationalities when we speak, for example, of Magna Charta as being the basis of our liberties as well as those of England.

If we may go so far, it seems as if the committee had measured the ability of the typical boy or girl by the ability of their own children or the children of a selected group. Even at that, the results of historical training in elementary and secondary schools, after a considerable selection of pupils, do not show anything to be proud of, if the answers in the college entrance examinations are criteria.

The second reason the average teacher cannot put the new course across is the elementary school teacher herself. Today newspapers and magazines are full of stories of the dearth of teachers all over the country, telling how Boards of Education and Superintendents are lowering the standards required for teachers in order that schools may be kept open. Almost one-half of our total school population, that is, about 11,000,000 children attend 210,000 one- or two-room schools taught by 300,000 country school teachers, supervised by 3500 county superintendents and rural supervisors. And you can guess how much supervision is done, especially in winter. It has been said of the rural school, that it is where "A little teacher, at a little salary, in a little school, teaches a little group a few little things." In general, 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of our rural school teachers are without high school training, or have, at most, a few weeks of professional training; just enough to get a low-grade certificate, in addition to eight years in the elementary school, each of which years may be only seven months long.

Recently, a teacher in a country high school applied for a position in our Philadelphia elementary schools. In the oral examination she was asked how many teachers were in the high school where she taught. She replied that she was the only one. One teacher teaching all subjects and grades in a three-year high school! Think of it! How much special study of history or of anything else could that girl do? And there are many similar situations through the country. These people cannot be left out of your calculations; because whatever the committee does should, it seems to us, be done primarily for these rural schools, where they do not have the close supervision of courses and teaching that is found in the larger communities and the cities.

Those who are called upon to make country-wide courses of study, do not, as a rule, know of these conditions, or else they shut their eyes to them. Certainly at Teachers' College, and probably in other schools where the proposed plan may have been tried out, the teachers were a selected group under adequate supervision, both from the standpoint of history teaching and from the more general point of view of the administration of the school as a whole. But all teachers are not selected as are those of the schools connected with Columbia University nor is all supervision either expert or close.

The present course in History in Philadelphia follows pretty closely the report of the Committee of Eight. Besides, we think we are in a peculiarly fortunate position in our facilities for getting the elementary history across to the pupils. It may be proper to risk boring you with the reasons for this. About fifteen years ago, before the University of Pennsylvania had broadened its policy so as to permit the earning of degrees through study at unacademic hours, the only place that Philadelphia teachers could go to work for a college degree was Temple University. At that time the Dean of Temple University was a man who, through his work and publications, has, perhaps, done more than any other person to raise the standard of history teaching in this country. I refer to Dr. Albert E. McKinley. Through the inspiration given in his courses at Temple, and, more recently, at the University of Pennsylvania, hundreds of Philadelphia school teachers and school officials were imbued with a great enthusiasm for history as a subject and were taught by example and precept sound methods of teaching history. Furthermore the history courses at Pennsylvania have for many years past been notably strong courses conducted by able men. We venture to say that a greater proportion of school people in Philadelphia have a keen interest and love for history, than in any other school system in the country. And yet, even under these conditions it is hard work to get all the history done the way we think it should be done. Many teachers still dictate notes, instead of teaching the children how to study from a text. It is hard for supervisors, on their occasional visits, to discover who are doing the work in the wrong way, and harder still to teach these teachers the way history should be taught.

One of our great tasks has been to get teachers to look at their work broadly. We have trouble in getting them to dis-

tinguish the wood from the trees; to distinguish between the big, essential facts, and the interesting but unnecessary details. A fuller use of the project-problem method will probably help, but, after we find out what the problem method is, we will need, for teachers in service, a training course in the project-problem method as applied to history. So you see, that even in Philadelphia, where we have a strong local tradition in favor of history; where we have the actual physical location of so many of the important events that form the history of our country; and where we have an exceptional number of historically trained teachers, getting the course in history into the mind of the boy or girl is an exceedingly difficult problem. All of this argues, of course, that to get a complex history course properly taught to all our pupils requires, we believe, a better trained teachership than we have at present at our command.

To sum up the criticism:

1. We believe that the courses in history and civics should be separate courses, co-ordinated only where the child's knowledge of history happens to be useful in making clear some point in civics.
2. We think that the material is not well distributed, especially in Grades 5-8 and that special provision should be made for the old 8-4 organization of the schools as well as for the 6-3-3 plan, which includes the Junior High School idea.
3. We think that in planning the course sufficient consideration was not given to the general lack, in elementary schools, of teachers trained in history, and to the presence in our schools of large percentages of pupils of foreign birth or parentage.

THE AIMS OF HISTORY TEACHING

Before passing to the suggested modifications of the Committee's report it is first necessary, we think, to formulate our aims in history teaching. In other words what do we expect our pupils to have as the result of our work? The Committee of the Historical Association says "good citizenship," with which we agree, but that is the aim of everything we do in our schools, and is no special argument for history. Can we not be more specific and determine upon (we do not venture to say agree upon), certain rather narrow aims that we should have in mind for the boy or girl as the result of their work in history? In the first place, we can point out several broad aims of the study of history:

First, There is the satisfying of ordinary human curiosity, or the desire to know what happened, without any definite use to be made of the knowledge. This is much the same aim that the boy has when he takes his Ingersoll apart, or cuts a hole in a drum to see where the sound comes from.

Second, He has the practical, i. e. economic, use of a knowledge of history. This aim is but seldom realized even by historians. At the recent peace conference, however, historical knowledge profoundly affected the disposition and boundaries of many nations, provinces, and districts, as was so interestingly told to us last evening by Dr. Johnson.

A third aim of the study of history is that it may enable us to understand the present situation and relationships of our own and other countries.

In the fourth place, history may aid us in certain groups of circumstances to make cautious predictions as to the probable course of events. Who has not used the progress of the French Revolution to measure the future of the Russian Revolution, and are not most of us looking or perhaps hoping for the Russian "man on horseback"? The third and fourth aims may be considered as political aims or values.

Still another object of the study of history is what we may call its social value. That is, its value so far as it helps us profitably to use our leisure time. This aim is fulfilled when history helps us to appreciate literature, pictures, and even music, (may we mention the "1812" of Tschaikowsky telling in musical form the story of Napoleon's Russian campaign); or where a knowledge of history forms a common meeting ground in conversation or discussion.

Finally, one of our great history writers states that "The study of history is chiefly useful to the historian by teaching him his ignorance of women." We refer to Henry Adams.

To attain these broad historical aims we must have other more specific aims. The aims just cited tell what you will do with history when you get it. There are other aims in which the teacher is more directly interested, and which determine what you get. These may be summed up under the heads of historical knowledge and historical skill.

By historical knowledge, we mean what the boy or girl knows; just what centuries and what countries his lessons in history have included. In other words, the content of your history courses.

A second, and to our notion a much more important result of history study is a group of historical skills. These skills can be more or less completely listed, and we believe should form the fundamental aims of *any* course of study in history. In other words, *what* you study is not nearly so important as *how* you study.

One of these skills would be the ability to get historical information from a book. That is, the ability to read a page or a paragraph, and to determine upon the essential statement, sifting it out from the literary and emotional chaff with which it is frequently mixed. Another skill is the ability to use properly the index or other helps to find things in the book, and from the statements on different pages to construct, in good English, a reasonably clear paragraph or story. Still another skill is the ability to weigh evidence, either as given by secondary writers or from source material, and the ability to draw from the evidence reasonably sound conclusions. We will not weary you with the further recital of a list of skills you can make for yourselves.

These skills will not just come, as a by-product of historical knowledge. They have to be taught. We believe that one of the main difficulties with our history courses is, that these skills have been taken for granted. There has been a belief that the boy or girl would somehow or another acquire them by unconscious absorption. It is our opinion that the need for these skills should be recognized; that definite provision should be made for teaching them; that the possession of them should be tested in examinations; and that the content of the course should, in large measure, be determined by the fact as to whether or not the topics lend themselves to the development of such skills on the part of the pupils.

If we can determine upon these secondary aims, it is clear that the quantity of material and its distribution will be governed by the amount of time available for teaching the content, after allowing time for training the pupils in these historical habits. This, then, is the basis of our criticism of the course of study as presented in the preliminary report of the committee and the basis of our suggestion for the modification of that report.

SUGGESTED MODIFICATION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY AND EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

Briefly, the suggestions cover a less radical departure from the report of the Committee of Eight than the proposed course provides.

In Grades One and Two, Stories of Primitive Peoples and Pioneer Life, are suggested. Historical Stories connected with holidays would be included.

In Grades Four and Five, we suggest important historical incidents and biographical stories from the history of America, down to date, instead of stopping at 1877, as suggested by the committee. In these grades, it would be possible to cover our history in perhaps ten or twelve big problems or topics. The method of covering the work is very important, both for developing skills and for maintaining the child's interest in history.

In Grade Six, return to the European background of the Committee of Eight's report, carrying the story across the Atlantic and covering the early history of America down to the settlement of Jamestown. This would avoid carrying the Grade Five history over into the first half of Grade Six, where it was proposed to teach American history from 1877 to date (we don't quite see why 1877 was selected, anyway). It is the practically universal opinion of elementary teachers that pupils in Grade Six are too immature to understand this complicated topic. All they can hold they will get in the civics course. On the other hand we *can* teach the European Background in Grade Six. In most classes, it is the best-studied lesson.

We do not think that the argument for the completion of the story of the United States, and for some information about government to be given by the end of Grade Six is a valid one. The tendency today is to make sixteen years the minimum age for leaving school. Children of sixteen who are not mentally defective have usually finished Grade Eight. and many of them are in high school. It would seem that under the circumstances no concession is necessary for the benefit of those who may leave school before the completion of Grade Eight.

In Grade Seven our suggestion is to take American history from 1607 to 1830, and, in Grade Eight, continue this history to date. In the report of the committee, Grade Seven is taken for the European background, and Spain in the New World,

while three hundred years of United States history is crowded into Grade Eight.

We believe that if an attempt is made to cover this amount of United States history in a year the great haste necessary would result either in a neglect of the training in those desirable skills of which we have already spoken or the neglect of important phases of our history. What actually will happen is, that the training in skills will be neglected, since so few teachers of history *in any school, anywhere*, recognize the need for definitely teaching them.

For Grade Nine, we recommend a study of current topics with reference to antecedent historical conditions, thus carrying on the work of Grade Eight. This could be supplemented by a special emphasis on civics in this year covering community and national social activities.

If a high school organized on the old 8-4 plan should so desire, a study of ancient history could be taken up in this year without the pupils feeling that it was merely a rehash of their work in Grade Seven. While the pupils will have had the European Background, in Grade Six, it is a year further away and has been taken in a less formal way than it would be in Grade Seven.



Fall Meeting, 1920

ASSOCIATION OF HISTORY TEACHERS OF THE
MIDDLE STATES AND MARYLAND

IN JOINT MEETING WITH THE
ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND PREPARATORY
SCHOOLS OF THE MIDDLE STATES
AND MARYLAND

AT JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD.
NOVEMBER 27, 1920

10.10 A.M., the meeting was called to order by Dean Albert
K. Heckel, *President*

THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BY DR. GEORGE F. ZOOK, *Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.*

During the last thirty years the secondary schools of this country have experienced a phenomenal growth. While the total population was increasing 68 per cent. and the attendance at colleges and universities 138 per cent., the number of students enrolled in the secondary schools was greater by 710 per cent. in 1918 than it was in 1890. In the public high schools alone there were in 1918 almost two million students, who composed 9.3 per cent. of all persons attending these schools; whereas, in 1870 the proportion was only 1.2 per cent.

It is clear therefore that the nation is becoming better educated, and that in this process the high school has become one of the most important factors. For many years it has been the ideal of the country, though by no means yet realized, that every child capable of profiting by an elementary school education should have it. At present we aspire, not without hope of attainment, to offer also to every qualified boy and girl a high school education.

Accompanying the tremendous growth of secondary schools have come significant changes in the character of the schools. They are no longer almost solely college preparatory schools. In fact, for a number of years the proportion of high school

graduates who go to college has been steadily decreasing. At present it is estimated that about one-half of our high school graduates go to college at some time in their lives.

In this connection it should be recalled that a large portion go to colleges of liberal arts and sciences, where they may continue the study of history and the social sciences. Others go into engineering or agriculture, where they will probably take from six to twelve hours in this group. Still others go into the pre-medical course, where they are allowed little or no opportunity to add to the modicum of knowledge in this field secured in the high schools.

The other 50 per cent. of high school graduates scatter to all corners of the country and engage in countless occupations, not to speak of the large number who leave high school before graduation.

From every one of these young men and women, college and high school graduates alike, the country rightfully expects some form of useful service. To this end schools and colleges are making great efforts to give students adequate training in a great variety of professions, vocations, and occupations. In order that the schools and colleges may offer students the widest opportunity to prepare themselves to earn a decent and respectable living large buildings are being erected, expensive equipment is being installed, technically or professionally trained instructors and professors are demanded.

All this is well and good, it is the first duty of the community and the State to make provision for its material welfare. Material welfare is, however, only a means to greater ends—the development of culture and of good citizenship. So far has the nation progressed in the development of material comforts that school and college curricula should seldom if ever be concerned wholly with professional or vocational courses of study. Every student owes it to himself to devote some part of his time in school, in college and in the university to the acquisition of literary and cultural tastes which in later years will afford a respite from the dull monotony of his daily work and enable him to enjoy the best things the world has produced,

The development of moral qualities in an individual is largely a function of the home and the church. In a democracy, however, the community and the State, actuated by motives of self-preservation and efficient government, are interested not only in the development of moral qualities in individuals, but par-

ticularly in the cultivation of social intelligence. In a democracy the people govern themselves either directly or through the force of public opinion exerted on those we continue to call our representatives. It ought to be more axiomatic than it is that the people should not expect to do those things in government which they do not know how to do. Universal intelligence in governmental affairs grows more necessary in the face of the increasing complexity of political, economic, and social problems.

These problems are our common concern. We may each be preparing for different professions and vocations; the doctor and the bricklayer; the minister and the farm hand; the lawyer and the hodcarrier; the engineer and the clerk. Some will earn their hundreds and others their thousands of dollars; some will become famous scientific specialists and others society parasites; some will enrich the world, others will leave it poorer; but they are all equal before the ballot box. We believe in and practice the enthronement of public opinion whether it be ignorant or intelligent.

In all the three objects of education which have been mentioned; that is, training for professions or vocations, culture, and good citizenship, history and the social sciences play important parts. Engineers, agriculturists and business managers are most successful if they know the problems of the community, the State, and the Nation. A man rises in his vocation if he is recognized as a leader in public opinion. Economics and political science become of immense practical as well as general value. In the realm of culture history takes its place with the great literature of the world and it provides a setting for music, sculpture, painting and other fine arts. Good citizenship, aside from moral qualities, consists in knowledge of present-day society and its problem. We look to history for much of this, not because it is the past, but because it is the living past. From political science, economics and sociology we seek for the rest of the knowledge needed to make good citizens of our boys and girls attending secondary schools.

We have not always seen these things as clearly as we see them now. To the honor of the historians it should be said that they have been among the first to appreciate these problems in the secondary schools. The report of the Committee of Seven made in 1898 outlining courses in ancient history, medieval and modern European history, English history, and

American history and civil government, had the most far-reaching effect. Indeed, we little appreciate what a large percentage of American high schools, especially the smaller ones, are even now following wholly or in part the suggestions of this notable committee.

For a number of years the history curriculum outlined by this committee was followed so far as possible without question. The time came, however, when a number of teachers felt that the close partnership between American history and civics, given usually in the senior year of high schools, was detrimental to the development of an effective course in civics. The American Historical Association appreciated this situation and in the report of the Committee of Five rendered in 1911 suggested a division of time, three-fifths for American history and two-fifths for civics. It also recognized the need for emphasis on modern history.

The action of the American Historical Association, although recognized as broadminded and conceived in the spirit of fairness, did not altogether meet the wishes of school administrators and those interested in other social sciences. In 1913, the Association of Colleges and Preparatory schools of the Middle States and Maryland, at a meeting in Albany, passed the following resolutions: "(1) Civics should be given a place of its own separate from history. (2) This Association should take steps to secure separate examinations for United States history and civics and examination questions which call for something besides a knowledge of the machinery of government."

The second resolution was in response to the growing feeling that high school students should become better acquainted with the practical problems of community, State and national life. About this time committees from the American Political Science Association and the National Education Association were organized to study this problem. The report rendered by the Committee on Social Studies for the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education made some important changes that have had marked effect on the curricula of the secondary schools. Briefly they recommended courses as follows:

(1) Community, State and national civics, including a survey of vocations.

(2) European history to 1700, including English and Colonial American history.

(3) European history since 1700, with emphasis on contemporary civilization.

(4) United States history since 1760.

(5) Problems of American democracy.

It was suggested that each of the last three could be made year or half-year courses, according to the wishes and convenience of the schools concerned.

The Committee on History and Citizenship in the Schools appointed a few years ago by the American Historical Association has accepted many of the changes suggested by the N. E. A. Committee. Instead of five courses with the options offered, it has, however, recommended only four. In effect the committee accepts the community and national civics of the first year, American history during the national period in the third year, and the problems of democracy during the fourth year. The chief suggestion for change from the program of the N. E. A. Committee is the substitution of European history since 1650 for the course in European history to 1700. This course also replaces the course in ancient history and English history recommended by former committees of the American Historical Association.

To summarize the situation regarding courses in history and the social sciences as we find them in our secondary schools today. A large number of the larger cities have been quick to respond to the recommendations made by the committees of the N. E. A. and the American Historical Association, and we find in them programs of history and the social sciences similar to those recommended by those committees. There are, however, a very large number of high schools, particularly the smaller ones, which still cling to a program in this field which includes little else than history. In this matter they receive some encouragement from the colleges, which in their entrance requirements have responded somewhat more slowly to the program of social studies outlined by various organizations during recent years.

In any case, it is a well-known fact that considerable divergence of practice still exists in our secondary schools concerning the program of history and the social studies. This situation is caused in part by the quicker response of some school authorities to the recent suggestions of committees studying this subject and in part by the requirements made respectively of students who

intend to enter college and of those who do not. Considering this variety of practice, it is perhaps not surprising that few States have made definite arrangements to prepare teachers to undertake this program of studies. To this situation, also, we may no doubt attribute the failure in many colleges and universities to establish a program of studies to be required of students who expect to teach the social studies in the high schools.

The program of studies in the secondary schools is in the hands of the high school teachers. In 1917-18, there were 85,000 of them, which of course is the large number made necessary by the rising tide of high school students during these later years. There are but two main sources of supply for teachers in the high schools; the colleges and universities and the normal schools. As a matter of fact, a very high proportion of them have come from the colleges and universities, inasmuch as the normal schools have so far been concerned chiefly with the supplying of elementary school teachers. Only recently have a considerable number of normal schools realized their ambition to become teachers' colleges and are beginning to fit their graduates for positions in the secondary schools.

For some time, however, we shall probably continue to look to the colleges for the main supply of high school teachers. Some years ago President Van Hise estimated that often from 50 to 75 per cent. of the graduates of the liberal arts courses entered the teaching profession. It is very doubtful if this is now the case. Last year it is probable that the total number of college graduates was about 35,000. At the same time it was estimated that on account of resignations and natural increase in the number of high school teachers needed, there would be about 26,000 vacancies. Out of the 35,000 college graduates, however, it was estimated that only a little over 10,000 would go into the teaching profession. How the other positions were filled must be left to imagination.

In the days when history was almost all in the nature of social studies that was taught in the high schools and before the advent of schools and colleges of education in our large modern universities, the task of organizing a curriculum of study for prospective teachers of history in the high schools was simple. The head professor of history outlined a sequence of courses in history which seemed equally valuable for prospective teachers and for others who might for any reason be interested in that field.

Then came the organization of stronger departments of education, which eventually claimed partial or complete authority over students who intended to prepare for the regular high school positions. As a usual thing one finds at the present time that the department of education supervises whatever practice teaching is done by prospective teachers. It is quite frequent, though by no means universal, for the departments of education and history to agree upon a minimum program of study for anyone who wishes to be recommended to teach history in the high schools. It is customary for students to be allowed to take a major in history, for instance, and a minor in some other field.

Under this system it is possible, indeed I am convinced that it is quite frequent, for a student to major, for example, in American history and minor in political science. The amount of European history taken may be lamentably small and economics and sociology wholly or almost wholly neglected. As a result, hundreds of teachers who supposed they had made some preparation to teach in the field of the social studies find themselves teaching ancient history in some small high school without themselves ever having had more ancient history than they studied in the high school. Others go to larger city high schools to learn suddenly that they will be required to teach community civics, something they hadn't heard of in their courses in political science at college. Still others, after majoring in history and political science, learn to their amazement that it will be necessary for them to teach economics, a subject they had taken no interest in whatever in college. Of course I am not attempting here to describe the plight of other hundreds who after specializing in mathematics and physics find themselves called on to teach "a class or two in history." Crimes of this sort without number happen each year.

One should remember, furthermore, that the situation here described is that found in the better colleges and universities. The small liberal arts colleges furnish a large part of the supply of our high school teachers, yet it is by no means universal for students even to have the opportunity to major in history, not to speak of other social sciences. An investigation recently made of the curricula of the colleges affiliated with the Congregational Church reveals the fact that the median college in that group permits students to major in English, mathematics, Latin, biology, French, and Greek, but does not offer majors in history, political science, economics or sociology.

The courses in methods of teaching history and the social sciences are also in a chaotic condition in colleges and universities. Often the department of education offers courses in methods which include methods in teaching history. It is also quite usual for the department of history to give a brief course in the methods of teaching history. Few, if any, departments of political science or economics have come to the point of offering courses in methods of teaching civics or economics in secondary schools.

What do we find when we turn to the usual State regulation governing the certificating of teachers to teach the social studies in the secondary schools? California requires a year of graduate work of her secondary school teachers in the field in which the student expects to teach. New York and New Jersey have made provision for separate examinations in history and civics and for certification in each of these subjects. Such a system is, however, by no means usual in the United States. The blanket certificate is the rule and the holder may be assigned to teach most any subject that seems to the high school principal necessary or desirable.

Anyone well acquainted with the conditions existing in our secondary schools realizes that the systems obtaining in New York and New Jersey may not be applicable to other States in the Union. People differ, too, as to the extent to which specialization should go, as for instance, one man states, "Extreme specialization in the high school is not good for the teachers nor for the pupils. Highly specialized teachers are liable to teach subjects rather than pupils." Another school administrator states, "It is important that a teacher of secondary work should have considerable breadth of preparation, since a comprehension of the interrelation not only of subjects closely related to his own but also of the entire curriculum is extremely important. Unless the teacher has some understanding of the problems involved in the administration of the entire curriculum, his work is certain to be illy balanced and inconsiderate."

From these considerations one must conclude that there exists no well defined program of social studies in our high schools. In the colleges the relations between the departments of education history, political science and economics vary greatly. Many colleges, though not all, permit students to major in history. Some history departments offer a course in methods of teaching

history. Departments of political science and economics usually do not. And finally, State regulations regarding certificates to teach in the secondary schools seldom resemble one another.

Now the increase in students attending secondary schools and the various fields for which they are preparing themselves, the advent of other social studies besides history in the secondary schools, and the water-tight departmental situation in collegiate administration have all complicated the situation, but it ought to be possible to solve the problem better than it is now solved in most of our States. The objective is to prepare students to teach a fairly well defined program of social studies varying within certain limits set by present practice and opinion.

What are the means by which we should solve the problem? They seem to be (1) The establishment by the State authorities of regulations concerning the preparation of students to teach history and the social sciences which include time and proficiency requirements in general education, special education, and educational methods. (2) Recognition by the colleges and universities of these requirements and of the curricula of social studies now obtaining in our secondary schools, and, in accordance with these the establishment of minimum requirements for recommendation to teach subjects in this field.

Turning more particularly to the second consideration, the American Historical Association and similar bodies still have a valuable and much needed service to perform. We have agreed to a fairly well defined program of social studies in the secondary schools, which will no doubt be widely followed. What is now needed is for some competent committee representing the various social studies to make recommendations as to the character and amount of courses which should be taken by college students in order that they may be regarded as properly prepared to teach the program of social studies in the high schools.

Such a program of well considered recommendations would come with great force to departments of education, history, political science, economics and sociology, which up to this time have given the problem scant attention and have often refused to co-operate in a scheme of minimum requirements for those who teach the social studies in high schools. It would cause college professors and instructors to acquaint themselves better with the situation in the secondary schools and enable them to know

what part the course which they teach should contribute toward it, and finally it would tend to diminish departmental friction by substituting a balanced program of study for the present shifting ones, which depend too largely on the popularity of local professors and instructors.

All these considerations call for better co-operation among the departments which are now concerned in the program of social studies in the secondary schools. The field of method in teaching is one of the best illustrations. If a course in methods of teaching history is desirable and necessary, so too are courses in methods of teaching civics and economics. Such courses should be established, or preferably the present course in methods of teaching history should be expanded into methods of teaching the social studies and should be taught by someone from the several departments concerned who is particularly well acquainted with the program and problems of the social studies in the secondary schools.

In this discussion I have attempted to call attention to the character of the curriculum of history and social science which has grown up in our secondary schools in response to modern needs and opinions. I have attempted to show the necessity of co-operation among the several departments in colleges and universities if the program is to be carried out. The problem is fairly concrete, but its satisfactory solution depends on unity of counsel and action.

DISCUSSION

BY DR. MARGARET KOLLOCK

A successful history teacher should have the power of putting herself in the place of the pupil. She should have the ability of framing her questions so that a connecting link is established between her and the child's experience. If she finds that her question has not been comprehended she should reframe her thought so that she could meet the child's mind on its own plane. This might be called the power of vicariousness.

Two other qualities are essential for a good teacher. They are so obvious that they scarcely need be stated—these are a wealth of knowledge and a breadth of vision and imagination. She should be able to understand the mediaeval mind to the extent that she could realize and could make her pupils under-

stand how a really devout and earnest Christian could accept the Inquisition as an instrument of good.

A sense of the dramatic is a great asset for a teacher of history. In her "mind's eye" she should see the people of the period she is studying with her pupils. She should walk the roads with "little St. Francis" and the Friars; she should feel with Hamilton the necessity for the financial plans, and she should be able to comprehend the reasons for Jefferson's opposition to all that tended toward strengthening the general government.

The historian realizes that while the essential attributes of a good teacher are almost unattainable, nevertheless they are a source of inspiration, constantly urging her forward to a fuller development.

DEMOCRACY IN THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION

BY HUGO C. M. WENDEL,

Assistant Professor of History, New York University

The new German Constitution, consisting of 181 articles, can be divided into six parts, as follows: the preamble, the bill of rights, the relation of States to the Commonwealth, the organs of government, the national administration, and transitional and final provisions.

PREAMBLE

The Preamble is short but significant. It shows unmistakably that the new constitution is not "octroiert", i. e., not granted to a submissive people by a paternal monarch. This fact is also borne out by the circumstances of adoption. The first draft was made by Professor Hugo Preuss, Secretary of State for the Interior in the Provisional Government. The final draft was adopted by the Constitutional Convention.*

This Convention was elected on January 19, 1919, by men and women twenty years of age and over, on the basis of "direct, secret and equal suffrage, and of proportional representation."† It held its first session February 6, 1919, and adopted the New Constitution by a vote of 262 to 76 on July 31st of the same year. On August 11, 1919, the new instrument of government was put into effect by executive order.‡

* Ogg, *F. O. Governments of Europe*, New York 1920, p. 719.

† Munro, W.B., and Holcombe, A. N., *The Constitution of the German Commonwealth*, p. 345. Young G., *The New Germany*, p. 245.

‡ Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, p. 719.

Obviously, the new government is not based on the theory of "divine right". The words of the Preamble clearly show this. They are as follows: "The German people, united in all their branches, and inspired by the determination to renew and strengthen their Commonwealth in liberty and justice, to preserve peace both at home and abroad, and to foster social progress, have adopted the following Constitution."

Contrast with this the Preamble of the Imperial Constitution of April 16, 1871:

"His Majesty the King of Prussia, in the name of the North German Confederation, His Majesty the King of Bavaria, His Majesty the King of Wurttemberg, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse and Rhenish Hesse for those parts of the Grand Duchy of Hesse lying south of the Main, conclude an eternal alliance for the protection of the territory of the Confederation and of the rights of the same as well as for the promotion of the welfare of the German people. The Confederation shall bear the name of the German Empire and shall have the following constitution."¶ This Constitution was prepared by order of the Emperor and accepted by the Bundesrat and the Reichstag.†

BILL OF RIGHTS

The second part of the new Constitution consists of fifty-six articles. They constitute the Bill of Rights.‡ This bill is doubtless the longest found in any constitution. It not only states concisely the Rights guaranteed to every German, but also elaborates them. These Rights are catalogued under the following heads: The Individual, Community Life, Religion and Religious Societies, Education and Schools, and Economic Life.

Section 1. The first section (7) of the Bill of Rights abolishes privileges due to rank and birth, and declares that "all Germans are equal before the law," and that both sexes have the same rights and duties. Freedom of travel and of residence within the Commonwealth, and the right to emigrate are guaranteed, unless otherwise provided by a national law. The same is true of the inviolability of personal liberty and of domicile, and of the secrecy of postal, telephonic and telegraphic communication.

* Dodd, *Modern Constitutions*, vol. I, p. 325.

† Art. 113. * Ogg, *ibid*, p. 619. ‡ Art. 109-165. ¶ Art. 109-118.

The censorship, except in the case of moving pictures and indecent literature, is abolished, and the free expression of opinion within the law is granted. Ex-post facto laws are illegal. In view of the Prussian policy in regard to the Poles of Posen, it is interesting to note that the new Constitution permits "those elements of the people which speak a foreign language" the use of their mother tongue in the schools, in the courts, and in matters of internal administration.†

Section 2. The second section (9) of the Bill of Rights deals with Community Life. Here are guaranteed the liberty and freedom of suffrage, the right of meeting peaceably and unarmed without special permission, and the right of all Germans, including civil officers, to form associations and to petition the authorities. Furthermore, to municipalities is granted the right of self-government, and all citizens, without distinction of sex, are declared eligible for public office. Unless otherwise provided for by law, the tenure of civil officers is for life. In accordance with the principle of public responsibility for all acts of a public official adopted by Prussia in 1909 and by the Empire in 1910, the new Constitution, in article 131 provides that "If a civil officer in the exercise of the authority conferred upon him by law fails to perform his official duty toward any third person, the responsibility is assumed by the state or public corporation in which service the officer is." This applies to municipalities, to states and to the Commonwealth.*

The Commonwealth's especial interest in community life is definitely expressed in the protection accorded the family. "The maintenance of the purity, the health, and the social advancement of the family" is declared to be the duty of the state and the municipality, and is explained to mean the protection of youth against exploitation and the furtherance of their moral, mental and physical welfare. Marriage is based on the equality of sexes. "Families with numerous children have a claim to equalizing assistance." Contributions to the support of the state are to be made in accordance with one's means. Article 132 states that "Every German, in accordance with the laws, has the duty of accepting honorary offices." At first sight this appears to be a curious provision. It simply means, however, that every German has the obligation of performing jury and similar duties.

† Art. 119-134.

* Freund, E., *Polit. Science Quarterly*, June 1920, p. 197.

Section 3. The section on Religion and Religious Freedom† states that there is no state church, and that “all inhabitants of the Commonwealth enjoy complete liberty of belief and conscience.” They may form religious associations, which shall enjoy all the rights pertaining to corporate bodies. In no case is religious affiliation to affect the civil and political rights of individuals.

Section 4. Section four‡ deals with Education. This section contains a number of interesting features. Compulsory education is provided for and explained to mean eight years of “attendance at elementary schools, and at continuation schools until the completion of the eighteenth year.” The “needs of all kinds of occupations” is to determine the development of the school system. In no case is economic and social position, or religious persuasion to decide whether a child is qualified to enter a particular school. Denominational common schools may be established in municipalities, if the authorities are petitioned, and provided these schools do not interfere with the system of school administration. In the regular schools religious instruction is included in the curriculum. For the purpose of approximating equality of treatment, public assistance is assured those in poor circumstances attending the “secondary and higher schools.” Private preparatory schools are abolished. In view of the absence of courses in civics in the lower schools under the Empire, and in the light of the events of the recent past, article 148 is of more than passing interest. It reads, in part, as follows: “All schools shall inculcate moral education, civic sentiment and personal vocational efficiency in the spirit of national culture and of international conciliation. Civics and manual training are included in the school curriculum. Every pupil receives a copy of the Constitution when completing the obligatory course of study.”

Section 5. The last section* of the Bill of Rights treats of Economic Life. It shows Socialistic influence. But this fourth estate influence is tempered by third estate concepts. Thus the right of private property and of inheritance and the freedom of contract, trade and industry are guaranteed. Where the State exercises the right of eminent domain, compensation must

† Art. 135-141.

‡ Art. 142-150.

* Art. 151-165.

be made. The "independent agricultural, industrial and commercial middle class" is to be "fostered by legislation and administration," and "protected against oppression and exploitation."

But there are provisions also of a pronounced Socialistic character. The right to labor is guaranteed. Should the laborer, however, fail to secure work, he is assured of maintenance. The Commonwealth reserves the right "to transfer to public ownership private enterprises adapted to socialization." It may also, in the interest of collectivism, "Combine by law business enterprises and associations on the basis of administrative autonomy, in order to insure the co-operation of all producing elements of the people, to give employers and employees a share in the management, and to regulate the production, preparation, distribution, utilization and pecuniary valuation, as well as the import and export of economic goods upon collectivistic principles." Co-operative associations of producers and consumers, upon request, may be incorporated into the "system of collectivism."

The right of association "for the protection and promotion of labor and economic conditions" is guaranteed, and the promise is made that the Commonwealth will adopt a system of insurance. Article 162 is of especial interest. It states that the "Commonwealth commits itself to an international regulation of the legal status of the workers, which shall strive for a standard minimum of social rights for the whole working class of the world." Article 165 revives the industrial councils introduced into Prussia in 1849, but which failed to function. This article declares that "employees are qualified to co-operate on equal terms with the employers" in regulating wages, working conditions and production. Furthermore, it is stated that workers are "entitled" to form local and district councils, and a National Workers' Council "for the purpose of looking after their social and economic interests." District workers' councils are to meet with employers to form the district economic councils. The National Workers' Council shall meet with employers to form the National Economic Council. The purpose of these councils is stated to be the performance of "joint economic tasks" and the co-operation in the "execution of the laws of socialization."

The importance of the National Economic Council is shown by the fact that the National Cabinet must submit to it "drafts

of laws of fundamental importance relating to social and economic policy" before introducing them in the National Assembly. The National Economic Council, moreover, also possesses the right to propose such measures to the Assembly whether or no the National Cabinet approves of them. In fact, a member of the National Economic Council may present the bills in the National Assembly. "Supervisory and administrative functions may be delegated to workers' councils and to the economic councils"

In regard to land, the Constitution provides for state supervision to "insure to every German a healthful dwelling" and to families with numerous children appropriate homesteads. Landed property necessary for this purpose, and indispensable for the improvement of agriculture may be expropriated. Entailments are declared dissolved, and the unearned increment is to revert to the benefit of the community.

RELATION OF STATES TO COMMONWEALTH

We have been considering the Bill of Rights. Let us now turn to the question of sovereignty, and the relation of the states to the Commonwealth†. Article 1 answers the first question. After stating that the "German Commonwealth is a republic," it declares that "political authority is derived from the People."

The relation of the States to the Commonwealth is indicated by the fact that the German Republic is a unitary rather than a federal state. The central government has jurisdiction over the re-distribution of the states. It has exclusive jurisdiction over important affairs, such as foreign and colonial affairs, citizenship, national defense, coinage, customs, post-office, telegraph and telephone. Where uniform rules must be established, the Commonwealth has jurisdiction over social welfare, and over public order and safety. Moreover, it has the right to prescribe fundamental principles concerning education, religion, associations, land distribution (homesteads), export duties, etc. It has jurisdiction over taxation, even to the extent of claiming sources of revenue formerly belonging to the States. Where the Commonwealth does not exercise the jurisdiction granted by the Constitution—except in cases involving exclusive national jurisdiction—the States may exercise those powers.

† Art. 1-19.

When, however, the States legislate in regard to the "socialization of natural resources and business enterprises, as well as the production, fabrication, distribution, and price-fixing of the economic goods for the use of the community," the National Cabinet "may object," provided such legislation affects the general welfare of the Commonwealth[‡]. The supremacy of national over state law is explicitly stated. Briefly then, the states are subsidiary to the Commonwealth, but the powers of the central government are enumerated, while those of the states are residual.

Although the central government is supreme in the new Republic, it, nevertheless, agrees to have its laws executed by the state authorities. The new constitution declares that every state must have a republican constitution, and it recognizes the fact that political authority in state affairs can be exercised only by the state government.

A curious provision is found in Article 4. It stipulates that the "generally recognized principles of the law of nations are accepted as an integral part of the law of the German Commonwealth." Perhaps the new Germany found it advisable to incorporate this clause in its Constitution in order to preserve, in the words of the Preamble, "peace both at home and abroad."

ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT

The provisions concerning the President* and his Cabinet show the popular control of the executive. The national president is chosen by the people for a term of seven years. He may be re-elected indefinitely. But he can be removed from office if two-thirds of the Assembly propose to refer the matter to the people, and if the people vote affirmatively. If they vote negatively, the Assembly is dissolved, the refusal of the people thus having the effect of a new election.

The powers of the president are those usually exercised by the chief executive of a republic. He makes treaties with foreign countries with the consent of the Assembly. He declares war and makes peace when directed to do so by a national law, and he appoints and dismisses civil and military officers. With supreme command over the armed forces, he has the authority to punish a recalcitrant state. When the public safety demands

[‡] Art. 12; 7.

* Art. 41-59.

it, he may suspend the right of personal liberty, the inviolability of domicile, the secrecy of postal, telephonic and telegraphic communication, freedom of speech and of association, and the guarantee of the right of private property.† The suspension of these rights, however, must be immediately brought to the attention of the Assembly, which has the power to force the President to restore them.

CABINET

The powers of the President are controlled by the Cabinet. All his orders require the countersignature of the Chancellor, or of the appropriate minister. The Ministry is responsible to the Assembly and has the right to initiate legislation. It must resign when it loses the confidence of the popular body. Both the ministry and the President may be impeached by the Assembly.

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Is the new parliamentary system uni-cameral or bi-cameral? A glance at the Constitution will show that two chambers have been created: the National Council and the National Assembly. The National Council‡, like the old Bundesrat, represents the States. Its members are selected from the State Cabinets. Each State is entitled to one vote. The larger States are granted a vote for every million inhabitants. But no State may be represented by more than two-fifths of all votes. In the case of Prussia, the rule prevails that one-half of her votes must be at the disposal of her provincial administrations. The Chancellor is chairman of the Council, and members of the Cabinet serve as chairman of its committees. The Council has the right to initiate legislation as well as the right of suspensive veto over ordinary legislation and over amendments. The Assembly, however, may override the veto, unless an appeal is made to the referendum.* The chief function of the Council then consists in checking and revising. Thus the new German state system is uni-cameral.

As indicated above, the National Assembly¶ is the chief branch of the Legislature. Its members represent the people. They are elected for four years "by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, by all men and women over twenty years of

† Art. 48.

‡ Art. 60-67.

* Art. 69.

¶ Art. 2-40; 68-77.

age in accordance with the principles of proportional representation." They receive a stipend, and are entitled to free transportation, a democratic factor of no mean importance.

The Assembly meets annually and regulates its own procedure. Its meetings are public, but if fifty members request it, and two-thirds of the Assembly sustain them, the public may be excluded. The Assembly, moreover, has the right to appoint a *permanent* committee of investigation, a standing Committee on foreign affairs, and a Standing Committee to prevent the National Cabinet from encroaching upon the rights of the members of the Assembly "during a recess or after the expiration of the term for which it (the Assembly) was elected."

In regard to dissolution and new elections, the usual parliamentary custom prevails. It goes without saying that the Assembly has the right to initiate legislation, a right it shares with the National Council and the Cabinet. The right of initiative and referendum is guaranteed.

AMENDMENT

The question of amendment is vital to every form of government. Under the Empire, the Bundesrat exercised ultimate control. Fourteen votes—and these might be Prussia's—could defeat an amendment. In the new Commonwealth, the Council, the Assembly and the people may participate in the process. The people, however, are at a disadvantage, for popular initiative requires "the assent of a majority of the *qualified* voters."

In view of the importance of this question, I have thought it advisable to quote the article in full:

"The Constitution may be amended by process of legislation. But acts of the National Assembly relating to the amendment of the Constitution are effective only if two-thirds of the legal membership are present, and at least two-thirds of those present give their consent. Acts of the National Council relating to the amendment of the Constitution also require a two-thirds majority of all votes cast. If an amendment of the Constitution is to be adopted by the people by popular initiative, the assent of a majority of the qualified voters is required.

"If the National Assembly adopts an amendment to the Constitution against the objection of the National Council, the President may not promulgate this law, if the National Council within two weeks demands a popular vote."

JUSTICE

In regard to justice* the Constitution declares the independence and life tenure of judges. Removals may be made only in conformity with the law. Extraordinary courts are not permitted, and no one may be removed from the jurisdiction of his lawful judge.

Judicial power is exercised by administrative courts, and by ordinary State courts and the National Judicial Court (Reichsgericht). The chief Court of the whole national system is called the Supreme Judicial Court (Staatsgerichtshof).

ADMINISTRATION

Several items in the section on National Administration are of interest†. The conduct of foreign affairs is declared to be the exclusive right of the Commonwealth. States, however, "in matters subject to their own jurisdiction, may conclude treaties with foreign countries," with the consent of the Commonwealth. The budget system is introduced, a uniform postal service, without exceptions, however, and national control of telegraph and telephone are retained. Moreover, the Commonwealth is obliged to acquire ownership of railroads and waterways which serve as a means of general public communication.

TRANSITIONAL PROVISION

The last part of the new German Constitution contains number of provisional clauses designed to form a transition from the old order to the new‡. The Imperial Constitution and the law of February 10, 1919 in regard to the Provisional Government are repealed. State railroads and waterways are to be taken over by April 1, 1921¶. All public officials and members of the Army are obliged to take the oath upon the new Constitution. The last clause again shows the ultimate source of political power. It reads as follows: "The German People have ordained and established this Constitution by their national Convention. It goes into effect upon the day of its promulgation." As stated above, it was promulgated August 11, 1919, by executive order.

* Art. 102-108.

† Art. 78-101.

‡ Art. 166-181.

¶ This has been done, at least in regard to the railroads.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion several things are obvious: (1) that sovereignty lodges in the people; (2) that specific rights are guaranteed; (3) that the ministry is responsible to the Lower House; (4) that universality and equality of suffrage are established; (5) that amendments are made by the process of legislation; (6) that judicial appointments are made for life; (7) that the principle of state ownership is accepted; and, (8) that the abuse of political power is safeguarded by the initiative and referendum. Surely, these are elements of a democratic constitution. How long, however, the new German Constitution can be maintained against the attacks of the Conservatives remains to be seen.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF PRESENT-DAY HISPANIC AMERICA

BY DR. MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS
Professor of History, Goucher College

Some practical individual has reminded us that history is not to be wept over nor to be laughed at, but to be understood. Hispanic American problems are the result of history, and, therefore, Hispanic America and her problems should not be the object of ridicule, but the subject of study, for the purpose of mutual aid. Perhaps the most striking political characteristic of Hispanic America is the instability of government. I refer, of course, to the revolutions, of which Colombia and Venezuela have had about fifty each since independence; and several of the other states have records almost as bad. As a result of force, government has succeeded government in rapid succession. Yet, any one who has familiarized himself with Hispanic American history should be surprised that revolutions have not been even more numerous.

About the year 1825, when the Hispanic American colonies became independent they adopted republican forms of government, though even the creoles, who formed the leading class, were unfamiliar with free institutions. This, in itself, was conducive to political instability. But the great fraction of aborigines in the population of something like seventy or eighty million was also influential. It is doubtful whether more than one-fourth

of the people at present in Hispanic America are white, and more than a fourth of the present population is pure-blooded Indian. A century ago the proportion of aboriginal blood was much greater. A very large fraction of the inhabitants are mestizoes—that is, of mixed white and Indian blood. Something like four millions of the inhabitants of Brazil and of the Caribbean region have Negro blood in their veins. Of the fifteen million or so white people to the south of the Rio Grande one-half are to be found in Uruguay and Argentine, due partly to the more stable governments existing there, which has attracted European immigration to the region.

Another thing which should be spoken of in this connection is political intolerance, which is more much marked than in the United States and is related to centuries-old Spanish religious intolerance. This intolerance tends to make the Hispanic Americans poor losers—as Judge Taft recently pointed out—prone to fly to arms if defeated at the polls.

Looked at from another standpoint, revolutions in Hispanic America are not only explainable, but somewhat justifiable. As there are few free elections in these southern lands, an appeal to arms constitutes a sort of popular choice.

All of the Hispanic American states have passed through a militaristic stage of government, during which ambitious politicians secured a following, overthrew the existing government, and assumed control, only to be themselves overthrown by another revolution. However, many of the states have emerged from the militaristic stage and have stable governments, which is making possible great economic progress. But in these corrupt political methods—closely kin to those employed in our own fair land—are in use; offices are bought in one way or another, and votes are purchased.

The situation is made worse in Hispanic America by the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has fallen down on the job, which is partly explainable by the fact that the job is a tremendously hard one, due to the great numbers of ignorant Indians of varied cultures with which it has had to deal. Roman Catholicism is the state religion in many of the countries to the south, but it frequently happens that instead of caring for the moral and spiritual welfare of their charges, the clergy, who often furnish bad examples of character themselves, devote much of their attention to politics, in the interest of securing greater privileges for the church.

In some of the states ninety-five per cent. of the people are illiterate, and in Argentina, which has the best record, the illiterates form about sixty per cent. of the population. Obviously, politics as well as government must be influenced by the gross ignorance which these figures suggest.

What can be done by way of remedying these evils? For one thing, immigration can be encouraged. The most advanced states are those having the largest white population. Robert Speer, the Y. M. C. A. worker, after spending a number of years in South America, declares that Hispanic America wants character; and character is the result of education and religion. Some of the leading Catholics told Professor Edward Ross when he was touring the countries south of Panama that they truly believed that the only thing that would reform the Catholic church and give the religion stimulus so badly needed was Protestant competition. It is interesting and encouraging to note, therefore, that the number of Protestant missionaries are decidedly on the increase in Hispanic America, and that the Y. M. C. A. movement is extending rapidly.

As individuals and as a nation, we have not been as friendly as we might have been to our neighbors to the south. For eighty years Central America has been struggling to form a stable and permanent union, and in this we could help her much. Instead, in some regards, we have hindered. Perhaps nothing better can be done towards bringing about a friendly understanding between Hispanic America and Anglo-America than to make greater provision for exchange of students and teachers. A good beginning has already been made, and at the present time about three thousand students from the south lands are studying in the institutions of this country; but the number should be much larger, and many more than do should go from our side of the boundary into Hispanic America for college or university training, or for the study of Spanish.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland was held at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., May 8, 1920.

The following treasurer's report was read. This report had been audited and found correct by Professor J. M. Gambrill and was accepted by the Association:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Credit

To D. C. Knowlton, former treasurer.....	\$318.97
To dues, adv., etc. (as per daybook).....	345.30
To interest on savings account.....	5.56
Credit total.....	\$669.83
Debit total.....	201.36
Balance in treasury.....	\$468.47

Debit

Nov. 10, 1919, postage.....	\$.34
Nov. 17, 1919, postage.....	3.75
Nov. 20, 1919, clerical help, programs.....	3.20
Nov. 23, 1919, printer's bill.....	30.00
Nov. 25, 1919, postal notices.....	4.10
Nov. 21, 1919, Council notices.....	1.14
Dec. 15, 1919, delinquent letters.....	2.20
Dec. 23, 1919, stenographer.....	7.52
Jan. 24, 1920, stenographer.....	2.75
Jan. 28, 1920, delinquent letters, etc.....	2.75
Feb. 20, 1920, clerical help.....	2.60
April 19, 1920, printer's bill.....	37.25
April 22, 1920, clerical help, bills, etc.....	19.40
April 23, 1920, miscellaneous.....	6.75
April 24, 1920, stenographer.....	2.40
May 5, 1920, stenographer.....	.75
May 8, 1920, speaker's fee and expenses.....	59.73
May 8, 1920, speaker's expenses.....	7.73
May 8, 1920, secretary's expenses.....	7.00
	\$201.36

The nominating Committee presented the following names for officers during the ensuing year:

President, Albert K. Heckel.

Vice-President, Florence E. Stryker.

Secretary-Treasurer, Nellie P. Ferry.

Members of the Council, R. W. Kelsey and Lida Lee Tall.

It was moved and carried that the secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the Association for the above nominees.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

In consideration of the hospitality and courtesies extended by Lafayette College and the Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society to the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland upon the occasion of its eighteenth annual spring meeting,

Resolved, that the Association make permanent record of its appreciation of such hospitality and courtesies and extend its thanks to its hosts.

Resolved, that copies of this minute be forwarded to Lafayette College and to the Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society.

IRVING S. KULL,
ELLA C. WALTER.

The above resolutions were adopted by the Association.

On recommendation of the Council it was moved and carried that for the year 1920-21 a fee of one hundred dollars be paid to the secretary of the Association aside from the allowance, as usual, of small bills for clerical help.

The Council recommended that Article III of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

ARTICLE III. *Officers.*

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, and a council consisting of the foregoing officers, two members elected by the Association, the ex-presidents of the Association, and a number of regional delegates not to exceed ten, who shall be appointed by the Council at any regular meeting. These officers, except the delegates and ex-presidents, shall be elected by ballot at each regular Spring meeting of the

Association. In the Council shall be vested the general direction of the affairs of the Association.

The above amendment was adopted by a unanimous vote of the members present.

After some discussion of the so-called Lusk bills recently passed by the New York Legislature, the secretary was instructed to draw up a letter to the New York Conference of History Teachers, voicing the sentiments expressed in this meeting. (See below for letter sent by secretary.)

The meeting then adjourned.

R. W. KELSEY, *Secretary*.

LETTER CONCERNING LUSK BILLS

May 14, 1920.

To New York Conference of History Teachers,

Dear Colleagues:

At a business meeting of the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland, held at Easton, Pa., May 8, 1920, the Association took cognizance of the so-called Lusk bills recently passed by the New York legislature, which are said to be now before the Governor of New York for his acceptance or rejection.

From the reports of these bills in the public press, it appears that they invade some of the most sacred rights won for us by our forefathers and cherished by every generation of Americans.

It was suggested in our meeting that a committee of your conference might be in a position to study the said bills carefully and to draw up a protest against them if the results of your study justified such action.

It was voted without dissent in our meeting that if you decided to submit such a protest, you be empowered to mention in it the sentiments of our Association as above indicated.

Sincerely,

R. W. KELSEY, *Secretary*.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. *Name and Purpose*

This Association shall be known as the "Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland." Its purpose shall be two-fold: first, to advance the study and teaching of history and government through discussion and publication and, secondly, to promote personal acquaintance among teachers and students of history.

ARTICLE II. *Membership*

Any one interested in the study or teaching of history in the Middle States and Maryland shall be eligible to membership. Application for membership shall be accepted or rejected by a vote of the Council at its meeting next following the receipt of such application.

ARTICLE III. *Officers.*

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, and a council consisting of the foregoing officers, two members elected by the Association, the ex-presidents of the Association, and a number of regional delegates not to exceed ten, who shall be appointed by the Council at any regular meeting. These officers, except the delegates and ex-presidents, shall be elected by ballot at each regular Spring meeting of the Association. In the Council shall be vested the general direction of the affairs of the Association.

ARTICLE IV. *Meetings*

The annual meetings of the Association shall be held at the time and place annually designated by the Council.

ARTICLE V. *Annual Dues*

The membership fee shall be \$1.00 payable at the time of the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. *Amendments*

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present, notice of the proposed amendment having been given at the call for the meeting.

Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland

1920-1921

President

ALBERT K. HECKEL
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, EASTON, PA.

Vice-President

FLORENCE E. STRYKER
STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, MONTCLAIR, N. J.

Secretary

NELLIE P. FERRY
WEST PHILADELPHIA HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

EX-PRESIDENTS

Lucy M. Salmon, Vassar College.
C. M. Andrews, Yale University.
J. H. Robinson, New School for Social Research.
C. A. Herrick, Girard College.
Eleanor L. Lord, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
H. V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania.
James Sullivan, State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.
Edgar Dawson, Hunter College.
A. E. McKinley, History Teachers' Magazine.
Henry Johnson, Teachers' College.
John M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University.
Jessie C. Evans, Wm. Penn High School, Philadelphia.
Marshall S. Brown, New York University.
Livingston Rowe Schuyler, College of the City of New York.
Daniel C. Knowlton, Lincoln School of Teachers' College.

ELECTED

R. W. Kelsey, Haverford College, Pa.
Lida Lee Tall, Lincoln School of Teachers' College, New York City

DELEGATE FROM CONFERENCES

A. C. Bryan, High School of Commerce, New York.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland is open to anyone interested in the study or teaching of history. The annual membership fee is \$1.00.

The meetings take place twice a year; in November and in the spring, at places designated by the Council.

The Association publishes an official bulletin, the Proceedings, which contains material of much value to the student or teacher of history.

The official organ of the Association is the "Historical Outlook," which co-operates in the publication of interesting papers presented at the meetings.

Members are reminded that it is now time to pay the annual dues. They are asked to do this as promptly as possible, in order to save time and money for the Association.

LIST OF MEMBERS

Abbé, Mrs. Robert,	11 West 50th St.,	New York City.
Adams, Charles E.,		Baltimore, Md.
Adams, Gladys,	West Phila. High School for Girls	Philadelphia, Pa.
Adriance, Robert I.,	178 N. Maple Ave.,	East Orange, N. J.
Albert, Grace,	The College Inn,	Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Ale, Ida G.,	412 Rutherford Ave.,	Trenton, N. J.
Allen, Freeman H.,	Colgate University	Hamilton, N. Y.
Allen, Joseph D.,	Polytechnic High School,	Dyker Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Allison, William H.,	Colgate University,	Hamilton, N. Y.
Aloysia, Sister,	Catholic Coll. of Okla.,	Guthrie, Okla.
Ames, Herman V.,	University of Pennsylvania,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Ammarell, Raymond R.,	Paterson High School,	Paterson, N. J.
Andrews, Ada M.,	3305 Windsor Hill Road,	Baltimore, Md.
Andrews, Charles M.,	Yale University,	New Haven, Conn.
Andrews, Elizabeth A.,	Box 106, Merion Station,	Merion, Pa.
Annabel, Caroline A.,	Central High School,	Syracuse, N. Y.
Arnson, Harriet,	High School,	Niagara Falls, N. Y.
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